597 his, then the sons of the adopting man get this property or that of his wife. But the
428 cousins of the adopted man get nothing. That is to say, the sons of the adopting man will have the responsibility for the expenses with the final funeral ceremonies and so on. And if he has children, it naturally belongs to them. And when any married people have no children, they may take children of both sides, i. e., children of the wife's brothers, or children of her younger sister, children of the husband's younger or elder brothers, take them to themselves as adopted ones, to be supported by them until death. These adopted ones also, in the same way, get their share of the agricultural lands, if children of the adopting pair have been born. And if they have got no children, all property will naturally belong to the adopted son. Mostly such childless people take in sons as adopted ones.

[178] Now and then they have taken in real adopted ones. When formerly — it is now some three scores of years ago — there was an insurrection, then they adopted many. At the present time they also now and then adopt. Nowadays, since the European missionaries
597 have come, these show mercy to orphans. Rather, these European teachers are like claimants
797 following up and finding their rice-lands and other lands. This is a righteous act much greater than everything else they do. They are teaching them knowledge at their own expense. They do not seek to be supported until death like us; they are rather themselves supporting others.

c. Wife's children taken in.

428 When a man takes a second wife, and she brings with her children, viz., of her former
587 husband, we call such children saṅgha lɔtɔm (taken in by wife's second marriage). If they are boys, these children have no right to get the stepfather's agricultural lands and so on. But the stepfather will with pleasure procure land and a homestead field for such a one from the village headman, giving money of his own household as salami. And when the remarried woman has any earnings of her own, these belong to the children she has brought with her. But for keeping it in safe custody, she will give the uterine brothers a portion; otherwise they have no right to it.

d. Taking possession on settling.

421 If any one after having done some planting of trees runs away, and the headman of that village settles a man who has come running there, in the run-away man's agricultural land and homestead field, then if there are Mahua trees or water-reservoirs, etc., in that homestead field or in the village street outside the house or in the unit of land, the new settler gets all, including these. Even if there are heirs of the run-away man in this village, they cannot lay claim to the things mentioned, because the new man has taken possession on settling. And even if the run-away man should sometime return to this village, he will not get these trees or water-reservoirs, etc., even if he lays claim to them at the landlord's door, because that man has taken possession on settling.

XIV. WHAT HAS BEEN ADDED BELOW IS BY SIDO DESMAṄJHI SARDAR OF AMBAJOṚA[1]

a. About adoption.

When a man marries a second wife[2], and this second wife has a son of her first husband brought with her, then if he wishes to give him full adoption, the man tells the village headman of this, that is, he informs him what they have both decided. The village headman then invites those who can claim this child, and they come to talk the matter over. In the presence of the village headman they consult together, whether they shall set the child free or not. If they set the child free, they say: Well, Father headman, we the claimants have before you and before the village people renounced all claims on this child. So from to-day he belongs to this stepfather of his. Consequently he has no right to his natural father's lands or cattle, money and so on; he will not get anything. 597

When this is said, they ask the stepfather for five four-anna bits, the provision of the sitting village council. Thereupon they salute each other and separate.

Now the stepfather fixes a day for adopting the child. Then on the day fixed he calls out for being shaved, as at the name-giving festival. They are shaved in the same way, and in the same way they drink Nim-gruel. And then the "midwife" informs the gathered men and women of the stepfather's sept. Thereupon they separate.

Now they give the child the Baha Sohrae, i. e., the real original bonga's sacrificial meat and rice. From this time the child has become his own child. And this child will get an equal share with his stepfather's own sons of his agricultural lands, money, and cattle. But while the real sons have a right to the property of cousins when they die out, he has in the same way no right to their property; only to the property of his stepfather he has a full right. 597 428

b. About adopted children.

Now and then they adopt orphan children and support them. And when they grow into maturity, these also get an equal share to those of the proper children in the agricultural lands, money, and cattle. If such a boy dies and falls away, and there is any property of

[1] What here follows was added at the request of many Santals. Sido was the man best qualified to do this. He had for many years as dęs mąñjhi had to do with these matters; he had also been an honorary magistrate. [115]
[2] Naturally a widow.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

428 177 [67] [692] lawsuits, and even if he does rarely, he fails miserably to establish it.

So in the domain of partition and inheritance, we find that the sons share equally, the daughter succeeds when there is no son to the man who dies. The widowed mother has her rights of maintenance recognised at the hands of her sons. The sonless widow becomes the sole proprietor, and like the *Mitakshòra* widow, cannot alienate property without legal necessity.

597 *Adoption (Pushapo)*

The Santal who has no son can adopt a son in Mayurbhanj. The adopted son is generally a relation and rarely unrelated. The adoption is made in the presence of the Headman and the Panchayet. Now, occasionally, proceedings are recorded in writing, but previously everything was oral. The devolution of [177] [428] property follows the *Mitakshòra* branch of Hindu law.

Ghar-Jamai

428 184 606 As in the Santal Parganas, the Santals of Mayurbhanj have the custom of providing for their daughters through the institution known as "domesticated son-in-law" (Ghar Janwane or Ghardi Janwane: there is however a subtle difference between the two). His rights here are essentially the same as 428 606 in S. P. So if there be a son, and such a son-in-law

4: Biswas D, F.-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

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inter alia he says, "We implore you to let us be with you to brew and drink beer, to fetch water, to pin leaves together on the day of marriage, the day of chhatiar, the day of cremation. We were like crows, we have become white like paddy birds. You, villagers, be our witnesses". This ends the formal part of the proceedings.

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The festival is concluded by further drinking and singing of chhatiar and other songs. It will be seen that there is no special or formal act done by the village people. They are invited for the occasion; the father (or his representative) implores the community to recognize the young ones as participators at the three great social occasions, and the people acknowledge this by drinking handi, the Santal mode of ratification. There is no kind of sacrifice at either janam or chacho chhatiar". [782]

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Adoption: Among the Santals to adopt a child is of rare occurrence. Dr. Campbell says they do not practise adoption. Rev. P.O. Bodding is of the opinion that adoption is present among the Santals. I have also heard of one or two instances of adoption in the Damin area of the Santhal Parganas.

If a man takes a second wife and this woman has a boy by a former husband, the man may adopt this boy. He proceeds in the following way: He first informs the village headman, then calls the nearest male relatives of the boy whose consent is necessary. If they agree they say so in the presence of the headman and the villagers of the village where the man, who will adopt the boy, lives. Then the male relatives

597 of the boy renounce him and declare him henceforth to belong to the new father; it is also declared that the boy shall have no right of inheritance in the property of his natural father. When all this has been done the adopting father fixes a date for the formal adoption of the boy. The villagers of that village on that day behave as at Janam Chhatiar (name-giving ceremony of the Santal child). They shave and drink handi (rice beer). The usual procedure in a Janam Chhatiar is that the officiating midwife tells the assembled people the name of the new-born child; here she does not tell the name of the boy but the sept or sub-sept of the adopting father; henceforth that becomes the sept of the boy. Thereupon they leave the boy to eat the flesh of animals sacrificed to the tribal deities. Henceforward the boy becomes their own.

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627 **Bitlaha**: It means to outcast a Santal from society. This outcasting takes place by the order of the assembled members of the Panchayat. It is resorted to when a Santal woman indulges in sexual intercourse with either a diku (non-Santal) or with a person of the same sept. If any one commits such an offence the headman of the village in question calls his neighbouring colleagues together and informs them of the matter; if the people hold that the case is not proven, then those who started the rumour are severely punished. If it is proved, the assembly gives an order for outcasting and they proceed to carry it out the day after the annual hunt. The date of this Bitlaha is announced by a man in the market who carries a branch of a Sal tree (Shorea robusta) with leaves. The people in the market on seeing him understand the matter and count the leaves